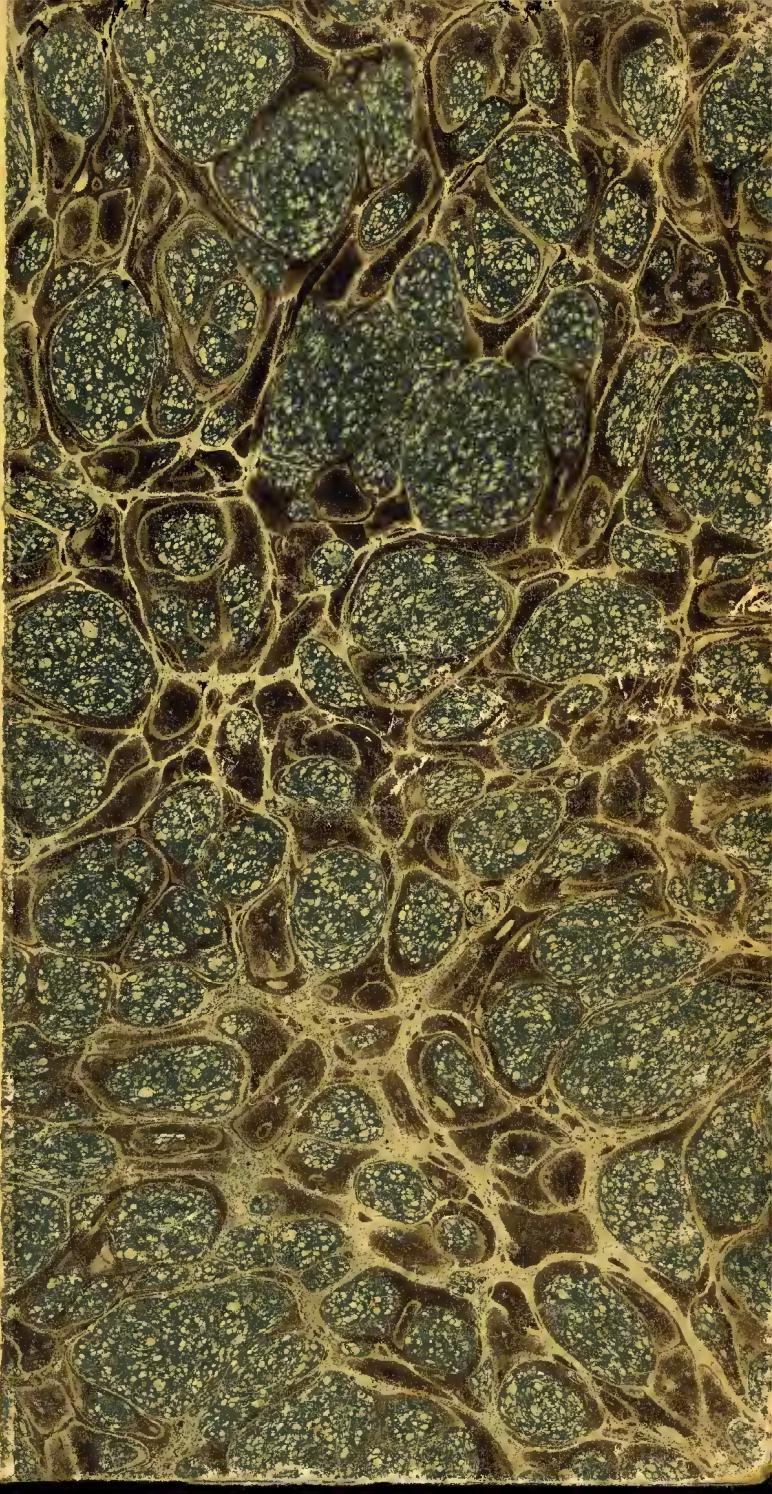


1855. AYER. Southern Rights and the Cuban Question.



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L. M. A. SOUTHERN RIGHTS AND THE CUBAN QUESTION.

AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED AT WHIPPY SWAMP,

ON THE

FOURTH OF JULY, 1855.

BY GEN. LEWIS M. AYER.

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ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

With much pleasure, I embrace the opportunity your kind and flattering invitation affords me, of participating, with a people so highly distinguished for patriotic zeal, in the celebration of this anniversary of American Independence.

We are all sufficiently familiar with the circumstances which attended, and the consequences which immediately followed, the promulgation of the great Declaration of 1776. Let us consider to-day, how we may best perpetuate the spirit and imitate the example of its illustrious authors, and how best we may secure the prolonged enjoyment of the rare and rich, but, to us, now threatened and imperiled blessings which followed from that immortal act.

We cannot too severely reprobate the custom of confounding together, in the celebrations of this day, the Declaration of Independence, and the formation of the Federal Constitution, which took place eleven years later. The two acts, though performed in a great measure by the same men, and with the same patriotic intention, are, nevertheless, as widely different in their characters as they were distinct in time, place, and circumstance. It is greatly to be feared, that in blending together those two acts in the annual homage and applause intended to be paid only to the first, we have grossly confounded and confused, in the popular mind, all distinctive ideas of liberty and government. In other words, we have unwillingly begotten the absurd impression, that our liberty is attributable to, and dependent on, the union of the States, and the particular form of government under which that union now exists. This fatally false notion has, in my humble judgment, contributed largely to the subversion of State sovereignty, and laid down a train of erroneous sentiments and ideas, which must, in the end, blast the bright promise of Republicanism in America.

The Declaration was an act of daring courage; and genuine courage can never fail to command respect and admiration. It was an impressive evidence of a sublime reliance on the power of Truth, and the justice of a

virtuous cause, and such trust is man's highest attribute and guaranty of happiness. It denounced oppression, defied tyranny, and dared to do what safety and self-respect demanded should be done. We do well then to commemorate the deed. Its bold authors were true to themselves and to their country, and God blessed their efforts in the triumph of their cause. We may thence learn from whence to anticipate success, and ground our hopes of relief in similar circumstances.

The act of Union was but a mere business transaction. It was nothing more than a contract, bargain and agreement entered into by the several independent States, as a means more effectually, as they erroneously thought, of securing and protecting that liberty and independence which they had but recently declared, redeemed and vindicated. If it failed in that, it failed in every purpose of its creation, and its continuance must necessarily prove useless, if not mischievous.

We are very generally agreed in this State, that it has proved to us the source of unnumbered ills—a full-charged Pandora's box. Yet, many who admit this, continue, from habit and wrong-directed sentiment, to look on it as in some way or other, they cannot exactly tell how, invested with many mysterious virtues to counterbalance its manifold evils and oppressions. Now, this is clearly attributable to the impressions created by the mere magic of a name—the simple power of a word. The changes have been so long, loud, and lavishly rung on the "GLORIOUS UNION," that, notwithstanding the clearest deductions of reason, and the most palpable proofs of experience and observation, many find it difficult to regard it in its true light of deformity. But unless we do break the spell of this fatal enchantment, the time is near at hand, when our arch deceivers may justly address to us the words with which the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan taunted his doomed and deluded followers:—

"Ye would be dupes and victims, and ye are."

The Government of the Union undoubtedly came from the hands of its patriotic founders just and pure; but too much complicated with compromises of adverse interests and conflicting prejudices to remain so, unless WASHINGTON, himself, could have lived forever to administer it. It was too purely artificial to withstand the selfish passions, wicked prejudices, and lustful appetites for ruthless rule, of the degenerate and fanatical brood who have succeeded to the control of its powers, and who have extracted from "its page sublime," a creed of lust, and hate, and crime.

"E'en as those bees of Trebizond,—
 Which from the sunniest flowers that glad
 With their pure smiles the gardens round,
 Draw venom forth that drives men mad!"

All the purity and broad patriotism which characterized the head-spring and source whence the Federal Government had its rise, cannot redeem or sanctify the foul impurities and base tyranny in which it has settled down. Its course and fate has been like that of a sparkling fountain gushing forth from some green carpeted slope or flower-enameled vale, and rejoicing, for a brief space, in its murmuring music and limpid light, soon loses forever its bright waters in muddy streams that spread out into stagnant pools, and exhale damp vapors and disease to poison all around.

To jump to the conclusion that the progress of these States is attributable to their Union of Government, is just as shallow and erroneous as the notion adopted by some political economists of England, that because England had greatly prospered and progressed under the weight of a great national debt, therefore, the debt was the cause of her prosperity, and consequently a national blessing! Sounder reasoners held that England prospered *in spite* of her debts; and we have prospered *in spite* of the difficulties and obstacles thrown in our way by our Federal Government. All that we have ever asked of that Government, is to be let alone in the development of our self-sustaining power and progress, and this we have a right to insist on. For us, above all other people, "the best Government is that which governs least."

The Federal Government has been worked so as to make one section pay two-thirds of the expenses of the concern, whilst the distribution of profits has steadily been made to the respective parties concerned, in the inverse ratio of their contributions. To us has been allotted the burdens —to the North, the bounties of the Government. From 1791 till 1845, the receipts of revenue at the Custom Houses of the United States amounted to \$927,050,097, of which the Slave Holding States paid \$711,200,000, and the Abolition States \$215,850,097. In a period of four years, from 1833 to 1837, according to Mr. WOODBURY, the relative expenditures of the public money to the two sections, were, to the Northern States \$65,000,000; to the South only \$32,000,000: while the latter contributed \$90,000,000 to the Treasury, and the former but \$17,500,000! The political connection existing between the two sections has been made a pretext for impertinent intermeddling in our domestic and private affairs. The floor of the Common Council-House has been usurped by the North

as the most eligible point from whence to insult, vilify, and degrade the South. And every instrument and agency of the common Government are now enlisted in the fratricidal object of robbing and ruining us. Yet, we are exhorted to shout hosannas to "*the glorious Union.*" As well tell me, that I owe the same reverence and affectionate regard to every huckstering party hack who has sat in the high Presidential place which WASHINGTON filled, as I do to WASHINGTON himself. We may make Presidents, but we cannot make WASHINGTONS. We may continue to call the Federal Union by the name he called it, but that cannot make it the thing he left it—the thing he exhorted us to love and preserve.

The Union between the American Colonies and the Mother Country, which WASHINGTON was mainly instrumental in severing, was by many in his day likewise called a sacred—a glorious—a happy Union. And there indeed existed, in common between them, glorious recollections, radiant with renown, linked through centuries of proud history. There was Magna Charta, and the trial by Jury, and the Habeas Corpus, and the Bill of Rights; there was Alfred the Great, and Simon de Montfort, and Hampden, and Bacon, and Milton, and Shakspeare; and there was Agincourt, Cressey, Poictiers, Marston Moor, Blenheim, and Quebec. All the property in common of both countries, and all words of mighty magic that plumed their pride, and intertwined their lofty hopes. But we are engaged to-day in doing honor to the names and memories of those who had the wisdom, and the manly courage, to brush aside all sickly, simpering sentimentality, and fixing their steadfast gaze on their great substantial interests, as their pole-star, struck boldly for freedom, though their stroke inevitably severed forever, their "*glorious union*" with Great Britain. A fig for such Unions when they murder liberty!

Where is the boasted progress of political science? Where the proud triumph of the divinely-inspired democratic idea, if we are now, in the middle of the nineteenth century, to substitute, for the long-ago exploded divine right of Kings, an idolatrous worship of Government of any kind? Freemen, Countrymen, Carolinians, renounce the fatal fallacy! It is utterly unworthy of men who aspire to be free. Divinity in human government disappeared from earth with the ancient Jewish Theocracy. We should make, or unmake, establish, or abolish governments, according as they may, or may not, show their fitness to promote and preserve the enjoyment of those rights which are given us of God. Nor should unreasonable and morbid fears of anarchy taking place, deter us from the free exercise of this right and royal privilege. Anarchy has rarely taken place in political communities, and never long held sway over any. The genius

of Anglo-Saxon liberty is eminently proof against that lawless spirit. The world has been too much prone, for the last fifty years, to read all history, and to study human character, by the light of the awful French Revolution of 1793. The bloody excesses of that period, should be regarded as the exception, and not the rule of revolution. From the Roman Siege of Jerusalem to that epoch, nothing similar had ever taken place in civilized communities: and there is not the slightest probability of such sanguinary scenes ever recurring again, *even in France*, as the character of their many subsequent revolutions prove; much less are they to be apprehended in the practical, sober-minded, Anglo-Saxon race. Let us cease, then, to contemplate every radical change in political government with a death-head, a guillotine and a Robespierre before our eyes. The quaking fears for the fundamental polity of the State, with which some of our eminent citizens contemplated the assembling of the Convention of the People of South Carolina in 1852, was simply ridiculous and amusing.

There is a gross and palpable contradiction, and glaring incompatibility, between the accepted theory which obtains in this country, that our people are capable of self-government, and the constant appeals which are made to our weak prejudices and sublimated sentiments in favor of antique forms. It is much to be feared that many among us profess democracy who do not love it, and who fear its progress, because they do not comprehend its character. Such are readily discovered in their awkward attempts to flatter and fool the people, much as one would soothe and caress a fierce-looking bull dog that he feared might bite him. Democracy must be born in a man's soul, or he can never put his implicit trust in the thing. He may, for the accomplishment of selfish ends, court "the dear people," whilst he secretly distrusts and despises them. Such men have wrought the ruin of every Republic. They set up some golden calf, such, for instance, as a "glorious Federal Government," which, in course of time, they induce the people, by artfully practising on their ignorance, credulity, and superstition, to bow down and worship. Then soon appears some child of chance like Louis Napoleon, or some great soldier of fortune like the first Napoleon, who easily manages to transfer to his own person, this superstitious reverence which has been begotten in the breasts of the masses. The true democrat eschews all flattery of his fellows, frankly points out their faults, and boldly labors to correct them. In short, he worships only God, and would therefore reverence, raise, and regenerate His image in *every* man.

Nothing can be sacred which is not right—nothing glorious which is

not good. When we complain, then, of the ills and injuries inflicted on us by means of the Federal Union, our opponents must show that it is right and good for us to be thus oppressed, and cease to sing us whining lullabies of the "glorious Union." Glory should be deemed to consist in being freemen, and not in the worship of an empty image. The great act of Washington in dissolving in blood, the accursed union of government between the American Colonies and Great Britain, should be held up to our admiration and imitation, rather than the wreck and refuse of that government which he established for our use and protection, but which is about to be wrested to our ruin. Let but this star of reason dawn upon our political firmament—let but its brilliant beams pierce the murky clouds of political transcendentalism which blinds our hearts, obscures our vision, and threatens our existence, and soon would the aspiring shout for a Southern Confederacy wake the welkin with its glad-some note.

Many, I know, are dazzled by the glare and glitter—the pomp and circumstance of a wide-spread, powerful Confederacy. They overlook the impending danger to personal freedom and domestic peace, in the imposing show of external strength. Such men remind one of a foolish fop, who would sacrifice his whole patrimony and living, to flaunt one day in costly trinkets and showy equipage, with the certain prospect before him of dragging out the whole of his after life in penury and want.

What, though the star-spangled banner should proudly wave on every shore, and ride triumphant upon each crested billow of every ocean! Would there be aught in that, calculated to insure us domestic peace, tranquility, and happiness, in our desecrated and disconsolate homes? Does the British Lion, which they bear as their badge of nationality, secure happiness and prosperity to desolate Jamaica—to the hundred and fifty millions of serfs of British India—to starving Ireland, with her eight millions of people, and but thirty thousand voters? No, my countrymen! it is a silly and a senseless notion, that great extent of territory confers social happiness, or political liberty. Who would not rather be a citizen of one of the free Cantons of happy little Switzerland this day, than a subject of immense Russia?

But why, it may be inquired, address such arguments to men who have already, lately and unanimously, expressed their full faith in them, and promptly indicated their readiness to demonstrate their faith by their works? Simply because we would keep your bright vestal light burning, and fan its generous flame into a general conflagration. We stand like men, who, in the waste of a wide prairie, should see the wildfire circling

them all around, leaping, rushing, careering along upon the deep dry-grass, and ever and anon caught up on the arms of a sweeping whirlwind, and lifted until its red flames lick the very clouds. The fiery elements of fanaticism now cast their baleful glare along the face of the whole Northern sky, and threaten, at every moment, to sweep down upon us. We must set fire against fire, or be overwhelmed.

In 1851, many of us thought the time had come to cut loose from our connection with the corrupt, and *fearfully corrupting*, Federal concern. A large majority of our brethren thought otherwise. The Slave-holding States, it was thought, were not then ready. They had not sufficiently shaken off old party ties, and a lingering hope yet loitered in their love of peace and quietude. The South submitted, and we were compelled to ground our arms, and defer our cherished hopes.

We feared not but that our cup of grievances would speedily be filled to overflowing; but we feared that submission, (hateful word!) might damp our ardour, dull the keen point of our pride and demoralize our patriotism, as "hope deferred maketh the heart sick." We sincerely hope that time may not prove those forebodings to have been too well founded. But let "come, what may come," it is surely our duty now to strive with our brethren, faithfully, zealously, earnestly to prevent, if possible, such results taking place. Co-operation is hoped for by some, it is therefore the patriotic duty of us all to labor for it, honestly and actively, until we shall see,

"What reinforcement we may gain from hope;
If not, what resolution from despair."

We have, doubtless, all learned some lesson from that unfortunate controversy, which then agitated and divided us in South Carolina. We can now look back, and see how we moved too cautiously and tardily in the beginning. When the use of the Fort on Sullivan's Island was refused us for celebrating the anniversary of the battle of Fort Moultrie, as had been customary before, then was the time we Secessionists should have struck. One drop of blood shed in the good cause that day, would, long ere this, have "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled" the South. And as we, ourselves, were too tardy on that occasion, we must not too severely censure our brethren for tardiness afterwards. We must labor to be united at home. We must eschew all crimination and re-crimination. We must renounce, in good faith, the party divisions and the party names of that day, and once more become all Carolinians, all Southerners, if we would hope ever to succeed in achieving Southern Independence. No man should be doubted, distrusted, or rejected, but he who

may be detected in the idolatrous worship of the "Glorious Union." But let every such one be marked as a treacherous ally and dangerous spy. He is joined to his idol, and must perish with it. For be assured, that through evil and through good report; through peace or through war; through glory or through shame, our motto, still the same, is: **THIS UNION MUST BE DISSOLVED!** And if ever chance or fortune again offers a favorable opportunity of applying our dimmed, but unextinguished, and unextinguishable torch of Secession to its rotten combustibles, the flames of freedom shall rise upon its ruins to light back the land to the lost path of State-rights Republicanism. *The day is past, and forever gone, when the preservation of the Union can be rendered compatible with Southern safety.* A dominant majority of the North rules the Government; and that, of itself, is sufficient cause for us to renounce it, even if it had never yet lifted a finger to harm us. We are capable of governing ourselves; and that, of itself, is sufficient reason for us to do so. We might just as reasonably and as safely be governed by England, or any other civilized nation, as by the Northern States of this Confederacy, the genius of whose civilization differs so entirely from our own.

We are often taunted and stigmatized by the Union-loving, conservative trimmers of our country, with being as radical disorganizers, and as fanatical in our politics, as are our Northern enemies. Do not let the charge deceive, or the taunt shake you. There is this wide and vital distinction between the two extremes, which stand as antipodes to each other. We seek not to meddle with the affairs of others. We stand, and have ever stood, on the defensive: they make the wilful onslaught on our rights and liberties. If we successfully repel them, our resistance must, necessarily, be as firm and resolute as their attacks are fierce and violent. We must stand with eyes flashing fierce defiance, and our bayonets firmly planted, as did the English square against the tremendous charges of the French cavalry at Waterloo, if we would hope to win the Waterloo of our liberty. Feeble defences cannot successfully resist violent attacks; they only serve to aggravate the rage of the victor. Better by far, bend down at once into tame submission, like the pliant reed that bends before the sweep of the wind-storm, if we do not mean to meet it with a force equal to its own. The counsel of moderation is but the counsel of submission. Should we harken to such advice in our extreme peril, our conduct would be as weak and pusillanimous, as would be the course of a white-livered surgeon, who continued to apply simple lotions to the gangrene wound of a patient, after it was clear to his judgment that nothing short of the vigorous use of the amputating knife could save life.

Unfair compromises have drawn out the lingering existence of this rickety Union some years, and its lifeless carcase may continue to be, in the same manner, galvanized into action for some time longer; but be assured, the knife of Secession must at last end its mortal throes, by severing cords which bind together two people, who can no sooner cordially coalesce into a homogeneous nation, than can the powers of light and darkness be combined. The North and the South have no more business under one government, than had the Colonies and England. In this case, as in that, separation would be mutually beneficial. The screech-owl cry of peace, peace, when there is no peace, is but the siren song to sing us to destruction. Then let the awakening shout of the would-be redeemed re-echo it from our mountain heights back to the sea-board, that **THIS UNION MUST BE DISSOLVED.** The day of its dissolution must come. It may come very soon; it may be delayed some time; but it must come. The decree is as fixed as fate, as inevitable as death.

In the mean time, we may not stand idle. The present apathy of the South is truly discouraging. There is work enough to employ every willing hand. To rally and reform a panic-stricken and dispirited host is no easy matter. Our leaders, sword in hand, must face the furious fire, and then will our broken columns rally and rush to the rescue. Yes, our politicians must be required to lay aside their ifs, their doubts, their ambiguities, qualifications, and evasions, so artfully concealed under loud denunciations of the North, and the mere policy and practices of the Federal Government. They must be held to the principle of disunion *per se*, and required to strike out every peg by which they might hope, in the event of our failure, to hang, hereafter, their selfish hopes of reconciliation, and individual preferment with that government. They must be required to draw the sword and throw away the scabbard. They must curse the Union, if they would live in our confidence. Observe closely, and you will perceive that but precious few of them have had the patriotic courage and boldness to do so. They ever leave some loophole by which they may creep back into Federal favor. Revolutionists must be made of "sterner stuff."

Much, very much, may also well be done yet, in enlightening the minds, as well as in resuscitating the courage of thousands throughout our own State and the South. Herein let co-operation at once begin its active labors. The full merits of the questions in issue between the North and the South, have never yet been clearly apprehended by many among us. It is a false, fatal, and shallow notion to suppose, as it is much to be feared many do, that the only Southern right and interest jeopardized by the Abo-

lition Crusade waging against us, is the interest and mere rights of property of those who own slaves. Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the existence of Southern civilization, all, all hang upon the issue. Every man's all, be that little or be it much—be it simple liberty and naked hope, or be it liberty and property combined—all that endears him to his home, and makes life desirable, stands the hazard of this die.

The power, progress, and happiness of every political community, depends on its industrial systems—on the fitness and adaptation of those systems to the due development of its physical, moral, and intellectual resources. The virtue and propriety of our peculiar system has been amply justified in our unparalleled progress. I say unparalleled; for the statistics of the country show the average wealth of the Southern people to be greater than that of any other people. We have not the mammoth individual fortunes which are frequently met with at the North, but then we have no paupers. Our wealth is happily more equally distributed. So, too, may it ever be. God has blessed our labors, and smiled on our institutions. We must cherish and defend them, or we shall surely perish with them. In public morals, the statistics of the gaols and penitentiaries of the two sections, place the South in enviable contrast to her enemies and traducers. Her rank in all the highest and broadest fields of intellectual exertion, has ever been in the van of the nations. A Southerner's pen wrote the Declaration of Independence, and a Southerner's sword established it in victory. Nor from Jefferson and Washington, down to Jackson and Calhoun, has the South failed to occupy the first rank in either the Senate or the Camp. These reflections should not teach us to be arrogant, but to cherish and appreciate our peculiar institutions. And they should inspire us with confidence in our latent resources. There are profound principles of human happiness and national power implanted by the hand of God in the institution of domestic slavery as it exists here, which to be known, seen, and comprehended, require to be closely observed, sought after, and studied, in their systematic manifestations. Truth, in all her wide and deep relations, yields never but to patient and protracted research. Like the teeming bosom of our mother earth, which man must dig up diligently, if he would draw from it abundant harvests.

The progress of the Abolition mania, since its first introduction into the British Parliament by William Wilberforce in 1787, has not been sterile of results tending powerfully to strengthen and uphold the truth and justice of our cause. The trophies of eternal Truth, in this case, are thick-sown along its whole course in the shape of blighted hopes, erroneous

calculations, false predictions, and to the unfortunate objects of the short-sighted and fatal philanthropy, ruinous and distressing results.

“But Faith, fanatic faith, once wedded fast,
To some dear falsehood, hugs it to the last.”

Abolition has long since ceased, in this country, to be simply a philanthropic impulse. Fostered by the lust of power, and a mean spirit of rivalry, it has been forced on us as a sectional political issue. The North being debarred of the institution by the inflexible laws of her physical nature, and perceiving that the power and progress of the South mainly rests on it, bends her concentrated efforts to its destruction, that she may, through the instrumentality of the common government, subjugate, humble, and rule over us. We would, therefore, effectually remove the inducement to their wicked intermeddling with our institutions, as well as their chief means of doing so, by abolishing that government. Why should we hesitate, when it is evidently to do that, or to do worse? A brief and hasty glance at Abolition, as it has been consummated and worked out to its dire results in the British West India Islands, will suffice to give us a pretty correct idea of what we may anticipate from it here, if it is suffered to progress much further.

The testimony of John Bigelow, (himself an Abolitionist of New-York, and a man of talents,) on his visit to Jamaica, and personal observations there, after seventeen years of negro-freedom had produced their legitimate results in that Island, is, that, “Shipping has deserted her (Jamaica’s) ports; her magnificent plantations of sugar and coffee are running to weeds; her private dwellings are falling to decay; the comforts and luxuries which belong to industrial prosperity have been cut off, one by one, from her inhabitants; and the day, I think,” says he, “is at hand, when there will be none left to represent the wealth, intelligence, and hospitality, for which the Jamaica Planter was once so distinguished.”

From an official return of the exports from this Island, it appears that on comparing the aggregate exports of the years 1846, '47, and '48, with the three years 1830, '31, and '32, which preceded the emancipation, the aggregate diminution of sugar exported amounted to 166,783 hogsheads, of rum 52,455 puncheons, of molasses 1,083 casks, of ginger 2,802,188 lbs., of pimento 1,628,532 lbs., and of coffee 38,973,097 pounds. By this report, it appears that during the last three years, the Island has exported less than half the sugar, rum, or ginger; less than one-third the coffee; less than one-tenth the molasses; and nearly two millions of pounds less of pimento, than during the three years which preceded the Emancipation Act. Lands which once commanded from twenty to fifty dollars

per acre, can now be readily bought for from fifty cents to a dollar. Nor can the misfortunes of Jamaica be attributed to any local causes. The other British West India Islands have all been visited by the same prostrating influences, and all consider themselves ruined and helpless.

By returns recently made to the British House of Commons, it appears that, comparing the imports from British Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad, during the years 1831 to 1838, with the years 1844 to 1848, the production of sugar has fallen off 3,130,000 cwt., molasses 506,133 cwt., rum 3,324,627 gallons, coffee 52,661,350 lbs., and the production of cotton has entirely ceased.

In the despatch of the Governor of Jamaica, dated 31st December, 1851, it is stated, that "the finances of the Colony have gone, and are still going on from bad to worse. The expenditure of the Island, in the face of increased taxation, is annually exceeding the revenue by an average of £45,000."

In the address presented by the people of Berbice to the Governor, on the occasion of his visiting that Island in the fall of 1849, this language occurs:—"In every direction, your Excellency will only encounter impoverished proprietors; you will find the introduction of intelligent European servants discontinued; the peasantry relapsing with astonishing and most alarming rapidity into a state of greater barbarism than at any former period; and innumerable fine buildings and costly machinery falling rapidly into dilapidation and decay, and approachable only by water communication, the roads and thoroughfares being quite impassable."

This is the picture we now behold of Islands, which once presented the appearance of a vast continuity of smiling gardens. The burning sirocco of a most deadly fanaticism has passed over them all, and scorched them to cinders. Bigelow admits that, so far from emancipation having bettered the condition of the slaves themselves, they, are relapsing into the darkest idolatry, and in the interior of the Island they already worship stones and serpents! The men pass their lives in gross brutalities, or drowsy laziness, and compel their wives and children to till the scanty pepper and pumkin patch. This, truly, is amelioration with a vengeance! God deliver our beloved country from such a fate!

It is especially to be observed, that the evils of emancipation must ever fall heaviest on the poorer white people inhabiting the country where this wicked policy is perpetrated. Lands immediately cease to be worth any thing. The wealthier people always have some other property which may be somewhere turned into money, and thus furnish them the means of flying the ruined country, and beginning life elsewhere. The poor man

who lives by cultivating his land with his own hands, and the assistance of his children, is at once chained down forever to the soil he owns. Lands having lost all marketable value, he cannot sell, and thereby raise the means of removing, with the rich, to another country, where he may have for his friends and associates free white men. If he flies, he must go as a beggar—if he remains on his land, he must have free negroes to rule over him, and despoil him of his hard earnings. For we all know they will not work, unless compelled, so long as they can find any thing to steal. It would be infinitely worse in this respect here, than it is in the West Indies, from the fact that a tropical climate there, enables a prolific soil to furnish wild fruits in such abundance all the year round, as to be almost sufficient, of themselves, to support life. The greater the necessity to labor for sustenance, and the sharper the struggle for life, the more rapacious and cruel would be the lawless, heathenish black vagabonds, who would rule by the mere brute force of numbers.

Seven-tenths of the whole police force of Jamaica, amounting to about eight hundred men, are negroes. They furnish nine-tenths of the officers of the penitentiary, and about half the members of the Legislature. And this, this, my countrymen! is the State of things which the Northern States are moving heaven and earth, and the deep depths of hell itself, to bring down upon us. Free negroes for our police officers and Legislators! Great God! who can endure the thought! You look around on your thriving, happy, noble country, and you feel that such a state of things can never be produced here. But remember that Jamaica, only twenty years ago, was as happy, proud, and prosperous, as we are to-day. The same hissing serpent of fanaticism that now glares his green eyes and licks his forked, fiery tongue at us, entered their blooming garden, and his blighting trail is over them all. Now there is not

"A rose of the wilderness left on its stalk,
To tell where their garden had been."

But the wrathful warnings of outraged Truth in this matter, are, by the pseudo-philanthropists of the world, utterly disregarded, ignored, or pertinaciously evaded. The fierce and uncompromising spirit of Abolition, rules rampant in every political party North of Mason and Dixon's line. The recent splutter and split in the Know Nothing party at Philadelphia, places the truth of this assertion beyond all further doubt or cavil. The claims of reason, justice, and patriotism, backed by the tempting prize of seventy or eighty millions of dollars annually, have failed to obtain a recognition of the rights of the South. Who can, after this, be so weak and blind—so utterly infatuated, as to entertain the faintest hope of ob-

taining justice at the hands of our Northern masters, under our present system of government? The whole North is completely abolitionized, and their insolent and audacious programme is already published and flung in our faces. According to Henry Wilson, the United States Senator of Massachusetts, and the Rev. Theodore Parker, it is—1st, To repeal the Fugitive Slave Law. 2d, To abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia. 3d, To organize the North against the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Slave-holding State. 4th, To carry this issue into the approaching Presidential election. 5th, To repeal the Act of 1807 under which the Slave Trade between States is carried on. And 6th, To abolish all laws making any distinction among individuals on account of color!

Now, every Slave-holding State is solemnly pledged to resist these, or any one of these measures, “even to the dissolution of the Union.” Will their pledges be redeemed? We hope they will; but we cannot help fearing they may not. The fact is clear, that the South has not yet recovered from the shameful stampede of 1851. The late gallantry of Missouri in the cause of Kansas, may, and I believe will, greatly tend to rally us to the rescue—to a decisive resistance. Georgia leads, let the whole South follow.

But in the high-spirited and admirable Resolutions very recently adopted by the Convention of the Democratic Party of the State of Georgia, we were grieved to see one favoring the acquisition of the Island of Cuba. It marred the beautiful contour of all the rest of their proud platform. For it is just such an *ignis-fatuus*, as is admirably calculated to lead the South into the fens and bogs of consolidation, by causing the postponement of her own vital interests, to the wicked work of national conquest. The bitterest enemy of the South could not concoct a more infernal contrivance to delude and ruin her. The insults and depredations committed by the Cuban authorities on Yankee ships navigating the Gulf Stream, need not concern us. We have our hands full of our own affairs, if we would but earnestly address ourselves to the rescue of Southern honor, and the restoration of Southern rights. If the interference with the American marine trading to the Gulf ports, and transporting our Southern produce to Europe and the North, should ever be carried to a pitch of serious interruption by the Spanish authorities, it could not injure us to any very considerable degree; because we part with the ownership, generally, of our produce, on our own wharves; and the balance of the commercial world stand ready, and are amply provided with the means of transporting our raw materials to every quarter of the globe, where there is a market for them. Our true policy, then, is certainly to maintain

friendly relations with all foreign powers, and leave the Northern States to take care of, and defend their own commerce. It is due to eternal Justice to remember, too, that it is the unlawful interference of our people, that causes Spain to resort to the policy she has lately adopted towards American vessels. We have nobody to blame but ourselves for this course of harsh vigilance and espionage on the part of Spain.

A graver error could not, in my judgment, be committed by us, than to suffer ourselves to be wheedled into the notion that the Cuban question, in any of its relations or consequences, peculiarly interests the South. The North has ever been dexterous in using our paws to scratch her own hot chestnuts out of the fire. We conquered large territories from Mexico, but the North took them all to herself. We may now be seduced into the Quixotic enterprise of conquering Cuba; but be assured, the North will reap the only benefit of it; for but few Slaveholders, comparatively, could, under any circumstances, emigrate there, where lands are dear, while they can command as rich cotton lands at mere nominal prices in our sparsely settled Southwestern States. The enterprising Yankees would crowd into Cuba for its commercial and manufacturing advantages; and they would, should it be acquired, control and shape its policy to the exclusion of Slavery.

Our true policy, as forcibly pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Boyce, in his admirable speech on this subject in the last Congress, is not so much to extend the area of African Slavery under our own Government, even if we could do so, as to interest, and to keep interested, as many other Governments as possible in the maintenance of that institution. In this view of the case, it is manifest that Spain and Brazil are the natural allies of the South, and should be so regarded and recognized by us. Our wicked fillibustering course, has alienated from us the confidence and co-operation of those Governments, in the defence and maintenance of our common cause. It is this very policy on our part, which has forced Spain to throw herself for protection on the arms of England and France; and it is clear that she will sacrifice Cuba, by abolishing Slavery there, before she will suffer us to take it from her. We should retrace our steps as rapidly as possible. Our State Governments should, so far as they are able, reverse this policy, and check this propensity of our people; and they could do much towards it, by conjoint action. We, of the South, should extend to Spain, in every possible way, the pipe of peace, and the olive branch of friendship. We should discourage and denounce fillibustering, and labor to convince Spain that our efforts shall, in future, be solely directed to the strengthening and upholding of the Slavery Institution, by all lawful and

legitimate means, among all people where it exists, or may be introduced. Our fathers, in the infancy of the institution among us, regarded it as a necessary evil. We have proved it to be both a political and social blessing to master and man. If we would successfully defend and propagate this principle, we must take our stand boldly upon it against a run-mad world in arms:—

“Truth crushed to earth, will rise again,
The eternal years of God are her's;
But error, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers.”

Even if the acquisition of Cuba was an object of proper desire to us, which we hold it is not, never has been, and never can be, whilst we ourselves are under the dominion of an Abolition government; yet, it would be the worst policy in the world for the South to pursue just now, whilst she is struggling, or at least should be, for her own independence. The seizure of Cuba would, it is admitted, involve us in war with one or more foreign powers. A foreign war would immediately and powerfully tend to divert us from the achievement of Southern independence, while it would necessarily strengthen and augment the power and patronage of the Federal Government; and thus facilitate the atrocious task it has assumed, of forging and fitting fetters upon the limbs of the South. Set the gallant spirits of the chivalric South agoing in another John Gilpin race after the glory of the National Flag, and she will come out of the chase so besotted with nationality—so completely bogged in the rank and fetid slough of consolidation, that the hand of political resurrection will never be able to reach her. This, her enemies, the consolidationists, well know, and they therefore spur her to the wild pursuit.

Nothing more palpably shows the great advantages of territorial compactness in States, such as the Slaveholding States now have, than the present conflict which Russia is maintaining against the Allied Powers of Western Europe. She had no vulnerable points, in the shape of distant colonies and sea-girt islands, through which they could cripple her; and they can but waste, and fret, and dash themselves to pieces against the impregnable battlements of Sebastopol, as the foaming billows of the mad ocean break up and sink away in harmless howlings upon the everlasting rocks.

It would cost us more men and more money, not to speak of the complete shipwreck of our public virtue and moral influence, to take and hold Cuba twelve months, than it would to establish the undisputed and undisturbed existence of our Southern Confederacy forever. But the vain

imaginings of men tempt them to destruction; and the salvation of the South has become too tame and trifling an affair to fill the affections, repute the hopes, and occupy the minds of her fast men. Prominent Secessionists appear to have lost sight of their first love. The "manifest destiny" idea has seized on their imaginations, led captive their hearts, and bowed them to the infatuated worship of the restless God, Terminus. The prurient desire for territorial extension, has depraved the moral sense and clouded the sagacity of many of our true men. They say that our destiny is onwards, and they are eager to forestall the extension of every territory and its inhabitants, that may lie in the course of our "fated" extension. So thought, of old, Alexander the Great, when his mad ambition led him to the conquest of the East; but his annexations died with him in his early blighted manhood. So taught imperial Rome, while she pursued her receding Terminus over an area of 1,600,000 square miles, locating him, at last, in the farthest East, and erecting his polluted altars among the then barbarian tribes of the extreme West. But retributive justice brought back the presumptuous Roman god on the spears of the Gaul, the Goth, and Hun, and pinned him down forever in his ancient home on the banks of the Tiber. Russia, and Austria, and Prussia, coveted room for extension, and they partitioned Poland; and now, in all probability, it is through this very outraged Poland, that England and France, foiled in their other attempts, will eventually shake loose and beat back the fraud-fixed termini of those three powers. Napoleon Buonaparté, too, was not content with redeeming France, and making her "the gem and wonder of earth," but pursued the phantom star that allured him to conquest, until its rays were lost in the flames of Moscow, and its magic power forever eclipsed, dissolved, and buried in the deep snows of the North.

"Thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbour's:" is a divine law which no nation of people have ever, or can ever violate with impunity. Let us not be deceived and beguiled into crime and folly by the loud and reiterated, but utterly unsustained assertion, that the acquisition of Cuba can add one iota to the support of domestic Slavery among us, or that the Africanization of that Island could materially injure us. We deplore the Africanization of Hayti and Jamaica; but its results in those islands have tended to benefit, rather than to injure us. We have them as fearful examples to warn us from the same policy; and the destruction of the sugar, cotton, and tobacco productions there, have greatly extended the cultivation, and enhanced the value of those staples.

here. It could not be otherwise in the case of Cuba. Then we say to the South, soil not your fair fame with the plague-spot of this *dishonest deed*. Like the "damned spot" on the bloody hands of Lady Macbeth, it will not "out."

In 1829, there were but 691 sugar plantations in Louisiana, producing 81,000 hogsheads of 1000 lbs. each. By the census returns of 1850, it appears that there are in that State now, 1,558 sugar plantations, besides 958 in Florida, and 165 in Texas—making together, 2,681 plantations; which (by the same authority) embrace 400,000 acres of cultivated land. In 1831, the United States exported only \$225,899 worth of sugar. According to returns made to the British Parliament in 1854, it appears that within that year, there were 61,606 cwt. of sugar imported into that kingdom alone, from the United States. The total value of the sugar crop of this country for 1850, is put down in the census of that year at \$14,091,521. In the United States, 400,000 acres of land are in cultivation in tobacco, and the tobacco crop of 1850 was estimated to be worth \$13,982,686. Now bear in mind that Jamaica, and the other British West India Islands, were Africanized in 1833, and you have at once the explanation of this vast and sudden increase of the cultivation of sugar in this country since 1830. Americanize Cuba, and annex it to this country, to pursue the course of prosperity and happiness fondly dreamt of by its champions here, and it is obvious that you would thereby at once paralyze and exterminate the great and growing sugar and tobacco interests of this country. For there the sugar-cane is never killed by frosts, but blooms, matures, and ratoons without replanting for five or six years consecutively. And there the average production is about 4,000 lbs. per arpent; whilst in Louisiana, (under vastly superior skill in cultivation and in manufacture,) it is only about 1,000 lbs. per arpent. Make Cuba a free and prosperous State of this Union, with her Slavery institution intact, and you at once force out of their present occupation the 800,000 acres of rich lands now employed in the production of sugar and tobacco, and the 500,000 slaves engaged on those lands in the cultivation of those staples. The sugar, lands, and slaves, would revert to the cultivation of cotton; thus adding vastly and suddenly to the already overproduction of that leading staple of the South. *We who cultivate, in cotton, the thin lands of South Carolina and Georgia, would be driven from the business, whilst the Slave-owners and tobacco-growers of Kentucky and Virginia, deprived of their occupation by the superior quality and superabundant yield of Cuban tobacco, would be ready for the emancipation of their*

then useless slaves. Or, rather, they would first sell off to Cuba, (where upwards of 20,000 African slaves are now annually imported, in spite of all the existing difficulties in the way,) as New-York, and the other Abolition States of the North, sold out to us, preparatory to their emancipation Acts. Under our laws declaring the African slave trade piracy, the United States Government would effectually suppress that trade, and a wide field would, in consequence, be opened in Cuba for the reception of the slaves of the now tobacco-growing States, relieving those States speedily of all interest in the "peculiar institution," and of all difficulty in the way of prompt emancipation. Are you ready to give up Virginia, Kentucky, and perhaps Tennessee, too, for Cuba? Would that strengthen Slavery in the South?

It is, of course, on the presumption that annexation would develop the immense natural resources, and promote the general prosperity of Cuba, that her American champions advocate it. If she is to remain in her present cramped and crippled State, or if her Slavery institution is to be abolished, then no one, I presume, wants her. I believe the latter would be the result of any demonstration on our part to seize her by force. To get it other than by force and filibustering is now admitted to be out of the question. On this point, then, I adopt the language and idea of an eloquent writer in De Bow's Review for Nov. 1854, where he says that: "The first gun fired by an American ship of war on the coast of that Island, would be the signal for the sacrifice of all property of the Creoles; and all this accomplished by a simple decree, which, it is as well known at Washington as here, the Captain-General is authorized, at his discretion, to promulgate. The United States, taking the Island after the promulgation of such a decree, would hold but a worthless wreck. A crown robbed of its jewels, would be all that they would gain by such unfortunate action." But if we got it otherwise, and it prospered, then I have already indicated the disastrous effects its prosperity would inevitably have on us and ours. Under the present arrangement of things, the cultivation of sugar will doubtless extend rapidly over the richest lands of Louisiana, Texas, and Florida, for it can be profitably grown on suitable land up to latitude $31^{\circ} 30'$.

Great fears are sometimes expressed of having a free negro Colony so near us as Cuba would be, Africanized. 124 miles of the deep sea rolls between Point Hicacos, the most Northerly of that Island, and Cape Sable, the most Southerly of East Florida. Whilst the possession of Cuba would at once place us within 42 miles of the free negro Island of

Hayti, and 75 miles of Jamaica. Instead, then, of really tearing the neighborhood of a free negro Colony, it rather looks as if our filibusters were eager to run into such propinquity.

But it is said Cuba is the key of the Gulf of Mexico, and a strong maritime power in possession of it, could easily command the commerce of the great Mississippi Valley. Now it strikes me, that the keys of Florida could be made to lock and unlock the Gulf of Mexico with as great facility, as could the opposite points of Cuba. And sure I am, that if, with the whole line of coast which we have stretched along the Gulf from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the Southern point of Florida, embracing many spacious bays, and harbors, and wealthy cities, with a vast and powerful back-country attached, we could not supercede any European Power, thousands of miles off, which might perch upon Cuba, in the control of the Gulf trade, we certainly could not do so under any circumstances. It is manifest, my countrymen, that all such arguments are only employed, in this case, to seduce you into the wicked conquest of your weak neighbor's possessions. But forget not that the greatest strength of a nation, as of an individual, is an upright and honest course of conduct, and the blessing of God which such a course only insures.

All the great statesmen of America who have, in past times, expressed a desire for the annexation of Cuba to the United States, have done so under the impulse of *Unionism*. As John Quincy Adams expressed it: under the "*conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our Federal Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself.*" Now we should want it, least of all, for such a purpose as that. And Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soule, in their Ostend letter, deprecate especially the Africanization of Cuba, lest "the flames extend to our own neighboring shores, seriously to endanger, or actually to consume the fair fabric of our Union." God send us any flame that shall consume the fabric of this hateful, vampire Union, that fans us to ignominious repose, whilst it sucks our life-blood! We, my countrymen, are compelled by the stern necessity of self-preservation, to view this question from the opposite point to that on which the great men of the past stood, when they considered it. We are planted upon *dis-union* ground; and from this high point, if we are wise, we will survey the world around. An Independent Confederacy of these Slaveholding States might be enabled to shape the destinies of, not only Cuba, but the whole West India Archipelago; but not until we are masters of our own fortunes, can we do aught good for ourselves, or others.

If we are in earnest, then, in our professions of desire to unite the South in the defence of her rights, and the acquisition of her Independence, for God's sake, and for the sake of our dear country, let us bend every effort to that end! Let us concentrate every force and faculty on that one vital point! Let the ignorant be instructed, let the timid be encouraged, let the tardy be quickened, and let the false and fickle be condemned! And first of all, as the *sine-qua-non*, involving all these ends, let the Cuban curse be exorcised from the councils of the South!

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